HOLLAND

·AN·HISTORICAL·ESSAY·BY·
H·A·VAN·COENEN·TORCHIANA

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Torchiana, Henry Albert
Willem van Coenen, 1867-
Holland, the birthplace of
American political, civil
and religious liberty : an
historical essay

HOLLAND
AN HISTORICAL ESSAY

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF THE NETHERLANDS. HER MAJESTY WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, ETC., ETC. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS HENRY, PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS, ETC., THE PRINCE CONSORT. HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS JULIANA, HEIR APPARENT.

HOLLAND

THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL, CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

An Historical Essay

BY

H. A. VAN COENEN TORCHIANA

OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAR
CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS ON THE PACIFIC COAST
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-GENERAL TO THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, 1915

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To my wife,
Catherina van Coenen Torchiana,
whose never-failing gentleness and kindliness
to all Netherlanders residing in or visiting
the Western States of America have ever
commanded my highest esteem, this
volume is dedicated by
The Author

INTRODUCTION

HIS is the age of fast accumulations. The impulse of the times seems to drive us irresistibly to admire everything of huge proportions. The "Cult of the Immense" finds many worshippers.

The directors of a bank proudly publish their total deposits, assets and liabilities, and the more impressive these figures the safer the interests of the depositors are supposed to be. A city publishes the number of its inhabitants, and when that number has increased far beyond the growth reasonably to be expected there is great local rejoicing; when the census shows simply a healthy growth, a natural evolution, there is disappointment, if not intense gloom. The citizens' pride and happiness seem actually to be threatened. And as it is with banks and cities, so it is also with states and countries.

But is the individual depositor really better off because his bank has assumed mammoth proportions? Is the individual citizen of New York more fortunately situated because the city has four million instead of two million inhabitants? Is the average suburbanite happier because his little village is annexed to a large city, and real estate speculators have reaped a big harvest? And is the citizen of Sleeswyck economically, morally or mentally benefited because the country of his nativity belongs to a huge empire instead of to a small kingdom?

Looking at Western Europe, the cradle of our modern civilization, there is one thing which must strike the thoughtful person very forcibly—that through all the ages it has been the small countries and not the large empires whose citizens have stood unflinchingly for the highest

human ideals, for religious and civic liberty, for true human culture in the highest sense of the word.

Are not the Netherlands and Switzerland shining proofs of the contention that principles of great civic strength and righteousness, and ideals of human happiness find their strongest champions in small countries and that it is not the geographical dimensions, but the strength of the character of its people which fixes a country's place in the family of nations?

As the apostles of peace, these so-called "small countries" stand pre-eminent amongst their sisters. It is not prudence dictated by weakness which commands a policy of peace. Strength is a comparative element. But a war between the Netherlands and Belgium, between Denmark and Switzerland would, at the present time, be an absurdity. These small nations in their great comparative strength have developed different and higher ideals, and have learned to scorn the theory that "Might is Right."

That the development and growth of these lofty national ideals is a boon to mankind, no thoughtful person will or can deny. That these smaller nations should be undisturbed in working out their national destinies for the benefit of the human race must be self-evident. The destruction of a small nation with high ideals is far greater a blow to human progress than the fall of a great empire in which such ideals do not prevail.

The great powers of today were weak powers in their infancy. It was then that they received tremendous stimulation from the precepts and histories of these powerful Davids in the everlasting world struggle for freedom.

The People of the United States, the citizens of one of the most powerful nations of the globe, owe a great debt of gratitude to the People of the Netherlands.

Is this always realized? Is it always realized that a great part of American civilization was born in that amphibious little swamp that borders on the North Sea, known variously as the "Low Countries," "The Netherlands," and in later days by the name of its greatest and most powerful province, Holland?

Here from the time that the hitherto invincible Cæsar gave up the conquest of the Batavians as impossible, and made them his honorable allies instead of his slaves, through the terrible Eighty Years War with Spain, then the most powerful empire of the world, through all the centuries when the Low Countries were known as the "Battle Ground of Europe," and when the North Sea lurked like a grim gray wolf ready to gnaw and devour the sodden land; through all these vicissitudes, perhaps because of them, the people of Holland upheld and defended the very principles that distinguish America today.

No fair-minded person would deny for a moment that the United States owes a great debt to England. The language of America, though compounded of Saxon, Teutonic and Latin roots, first took shape in England. The poets of Britain, her great novelists and essayists have set the pace for American writers and have been their inspiration. In personal bravery and fortitude in the face of awful danger the English yeoman is a model and example. To the sturdy sons of old England Americans owe a not inconsiderable part of their national robustness. There is little danger that this debt will be underestimated.

It is to other creditors that justice must be done, and Holland is the greatest of these by far.

The writer has not attempted to compose an exhaustive treatise on the subject. A brief statement of the facts in the case, with their obvious deductions is his only object. If even a small part of the dense fog of historical illusion is cleared

away in the following pages, and the American public, always fair-minded, is given the opportunity of judging for itself, this essay will not have been written in vain.

In as much as this essay is written for the purpose of suggesting to the American reader that he extend his study on the subject no attempt is made to cite any of the Dutch authorities consulted, and the very limited space prohibits the citing of authorities in the English language to any great extent, but the reader is respectfully referred to Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," and the "United Netherlands," Dr. Campbell's "The Puritan in Holland, England and America"; and Griffis' "Brave Little Holland and What She Taught Us," and "The Dutch Influence in New England." Here I wish also to acknowledge gratefully the assistance received from Anita Day Downing of San Francisco.

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition stands today in the face of the terrific conflict now being waged in Europe as a lofty Monument of Peace. It stands on the western edge of the continent, voicing the impelling dictate that the civilization of the white man must march forever to the West.

It is difficult to imagine a single enterprise which had to battle with so many international complications during the short period of its conception and birth.

But the idea of the Exposition, conceived in the love of the people of California for their State, is born into realization after a great travail, and instead of a mountain of love and devotion bringing forth a mouse, there was given to the light of day a magnificent enterprise.

Here it is that ignorance born of arrogance will be humbled to the dust, and the arts and sciences, the commerce and industries of the world will celebrate High Mass.

INTRODUCTION

Holland takes its just position among the nations at this World's Fair and shows what a so-called "small country," through the virility of its citizens, can accomplish in the affairs of the world.

As though symbolizing the traditional friendship of the two nations the Red, White and Blue are the national colors of both, and the seven red stripes in Old Glory are a fitting emblem of the seven Provinces of the Old Republic of the United Netherlands, the birthplace of so many American ideals, and of so many industrial inventions that made the growth of this and other countries possible.

Today the old battle flag of the Netherlands, a flag which has remained during the centuries without blemish or stain, floats over the Netherlands Pavilion, and kissed by the zephyrs of the Golden Gate, it waves a friendly greeting to its brilliant daughter, the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America.

THE AUTHOR,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
1915.

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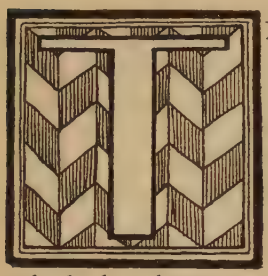


HE growth of the American Commonwealth has been too rapid to admit of much leisure for retrospection. Pioneers must not look backward if they would continue to go forward.

The American public as a whole has been very busily occupied for the past three hundred years. To build, in the short space of three centuries a magnificent civilization out of a wilderness certainly required more than gradual and passive evolution. It meant work—hard work and intelligent work. If the problems of the present and future were to be solved, mere theorizing and brooding on the past had to be banished in favor of aggressive, practical thinking. And this not only on the part of statesmen and scholars. The people, the great middle class, with their demand for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," have done much for the formation of the laws and institutions of the great American Republic.

In the very beginning of our pre-national growth, before any national policy could be formed, we find a certain unity of political ideals in almost all the colonies. Certain principles, chief among which are freedom of religious belief, "no taxation without representation," a representative government, a comprehensive school system and a written constitution, have distinguished the American idea from the founding of the first colonies on the Atlantic Coast until the present day.

From what source did these forefathers of modern America acquire the high ideals of government and right living that made the American Republic first a possibility, and finally a proved realization? Whence came the vision of industrial peace and plenty, of personal and religious freedom that inspired the Puritan Fathers on their long voyage over unknown seas, and later led Wm. Penn, Roger Williams, Thos. Hooker and others to plant the seeds of a new civilization in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut and elsewhere throughout the New England and Middle Colonies?

Was it the English organization of those times, embodying a State Church, and an unlimited monarchy with all its natural consequences? It seems hardly possible. England today takes a prominent place amongst the most enlightened nations on earth, but at the time of the founding of the American Colonies it occupied quite a different position in the family of nations.

Notwithstanding that England has been called the Mother Country of the United States, and has been accepted as such by the world in general and Americans in particular with a sort of blind acquiescence in the statements of English historians and of those Americans who have written the story of their country with little regard to the foreign history which influenced it, we must look elsewhere for the inspiration.

Where must we look? The unbiased historian has no difficulty in answering.

One nation, and one only, in the whole of Western Europe, at the time of the founding of the New England Colonies, embodied the ideas that have become an integral part of American civilization. The Netherlands had been for centuries the home of religious freedom and toleration, of representative government, and of political liberty. Through all the terrible years of

the struggle with Spain, the Netherlanders were true to their ideals, even cutting the dykes and allowing the waters of the North Sea to flood the Lowlands, thereby destroying the labor of years, rather than preserve their homes and property at the price of their liberty. "Thousands for defense but not one cent for tribute" was Dutch for centuries before it was American.

None were better aware of these conditions than the progressive elements of England. To them Holland was the mecca of their desires.

To the Netherlands fled the persecuted Pilgrims from England. For twelve years they lived under the vigorous, but for those times, benign Dutch rule and when they set sail to seek a home of their own it was the well wishes of their good friends of Leyden that cheered them in their frail craft on the turbulent Atlantic. In the Netherlands they had observed the appalling sacrifices which the heroic people of Holland were daily making on the altar of their Fatherland, in the great struggle for religious liberty and civic freedom against the oppression of Spain. It was there the great truth that no sacrifice is too mighty for the attainment of so glorious a goal had been written indelibly on their brains, nay, burned into their very souls.

What is more natural than to believe that in forming the government of their new country, the colonists should adopt the forms and customs that they had seen work so successfully in Holland? They had seen in the Netherlands the concrete application of their own beliefs. This plan of government was fresh in their memories, easily adopted, and with such alterations as were necessary to meet the new conditions, eminently practical.

It seems somewhat remarkable on first examination that so much confusion should have arisen over so simple a situation. On second

consideration the reasons become more evident and easily understood.

In the first place, the colonists of New England were in the majority of cases of English origin. They spoke the English tongue and were, until the American Revolution, under English supervision; English was the official language. It is but natural that the English historians should claim for England the intellectual parenthood of so illustrious an offspring. In justice to the historians, it must be remembered that only in comparatively recent times have the Government archives of England been opened to public inspection. Consequently, much valuable data has been withheld from the conscientious historian, and biased ideas have naturally arisen. History as a philosophical science is of no very great age, and few Americans understood the Dutch language sufficiently to make independent investigations.

Another drawback to arriving at a logical conclusion as to the origin of American institutions is a very human trait due to patriotism. It seems the almost universal habit of national writers to disclaim or overlook any foreign influence on English or American civilization. This habit and its effect are evident in the attitude of the American public at large, an attitude often misguided.

Added to this is the influence of Washington Irving's "Diedrich Knickerbocker." If that genial writer could have foreseen the result of his "literary joke," (his own words), it is doubtful if it would ever have seen the light of day. Even one example of its effect on American historians is quite enough to measure the confusion it has accomplished. It is from such statements as that of Julian Hawthorne in his "History of America," that the American public has gleaned its ideas of the Dutch in this country and elsewhere.

"The Dutch are not funny anywhere but in Seventeenth Century Manhattan, nor can this singularity be explained by saying that Washington Irving made them so. It inheres in the situation; and the delightful chronicles of Diedrich Knickerbocker owe half their enduring fascination to their sterling veracity," etc.

On a preceding page he has enumerated some of the virtues of these "funny" people. He says in part:

"The burghers set us an example good for us to follow; and they deeded to us some of our best citizens and most engaging architectural traditions. . . . For their character, their temperament . . . the industrious decorum of their women, the dignity of their patroons, the strictness of their social conduct, the stoutness of their independence, the excellence of their good sense, and the simplicity of their prudence, we are indebted to them."

It would take more than a keen sense of humor to see anything "funny" in such qualities, but since Irving has said so, funny they must be, and the historian praises his "veracity." Irving certainly was successful with his literary joke.

Because of a common language, certain similar legal institutions, many of which are becoming slowly but surely obsolete in the United States, and the English origin of some of the early colonists, it has been assumed that all this wonderful new structure of American civilization was founded on English ideals or built up in some miraculous way from the imaginations of the indifferently educated farmers and mechanics who made up the larger part of the English population of New England.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS

HE institutions peculiar to the United States are to a large extent not English but Dutch in origin. Lest this seem too radical a statement, let us compare in some detail the more salient parts of the political and social structures of England and America, and of America and Holland.

The political structures of the two first mentioned nations differ greatly in many essentials. The United States and each of the separate States have written constitutions. These constitutions are the enactment of the will of the people, are superior to congresses and legislatures, and can only be altered by the people in such modes, as to time and majorities, as guarantee deliberation and a widespread settled feeling amongst the people of the necessity for change.

The American system is almost identical with the system now in vogue in the Netherlands, and in all essentials of principle, though possibly not in detail, with that which existed in the Netherlands for centuries.

England never had and has not now a written constitution. Each new Parliament is a law unto itself, limited only by an unwritten accumulation of sentiment, tradition, theory and precedent, and this unwritten constitution provides no special safeguard against revolutionary reforms like

those in America and Holland. It is the high quality of its citizens and reverence for its great traditions, not its written laws, which constitute England's safeguard.

Both countries possess two legislative houses, but the likeness is in number only. In the United State the Senate represents the individual States. Each State, no matter how large or small its area or population, has two Senators. One third of the membership changes every two years. Though the members are elected at present by the State Legislatures, a powerful movement is on foot to have them elected by the people, and they are already, in fact if not in name, actually elected by the people in several of the States. The Senate of the United States has wide powers and a very influential voice in the executive branch of the Federal Government. It must confirm the appointment of judges and executive officers except those of the lowest grade, and its different committees, that of Foreign Relations for instance, are very powerful indeed. No treaty is valid, nor may war or peace be made without its sanction, and its general influence is keenly felt in the political structure of the country.

The House of Lords of England is distinctly different. The members represent the aristocracy, born or created, keep their seats for life, and exercise a very restricted legislative power. The Cabinet, responsible to the varying dictates of the House of Commons alone, wields the absolute power in all matters in which the American President must act with and by the consent of the United States Senate.

The American House of Representatives is made up of men elected for two years and paid a liberal salary. Their term of office cannot be abrogated by the Executive power. In England the members of the House of Commons may hold office for seven days or seven years, for the Cab-

inet may order a new election at any time. Before the year 1911 no salaries were paid its members, and they were dependent on their own purses or voluntary contributions for support. Since 1911 they are paid a very modest stipend indeed.

In the United States, guarding the Constitution with an unwearying eye, and in its own sphere above the powers of President, Senate or House, sits the Supreme Court. Lord Salisbury, in a speech at Edinburgh, November 23, 1882, spoke of it in this manner:

> "I confess I do not often envy the United States, but there is one feature in their institutions which appears to me the subject of the greatest envy, their magnificent institution of a Supreme Court. In the United States, if Parliament passes any measure inconsistent with the Constitution of the country, there exists a court which will negative it at once, and that gives a stability to the institutions of the country which, under the system of vague and mysterious promises here, we look for in vain."

Moreover, each State Supreme Court has within the limits of the boundaries of its own State the same absolute power to decree whether or not an act is in conformity with or contrary to the Constitution of the State and therefore valid or invalid.

In the details of the government of the two countries a contrast even more marked is evident.

Local self government has been the rule in America since the beginning of the first New England colonies. At the foundation of the system is the township, varying in size in the different States, but of the same political importance. Each township elects its own officers and manages its own local affairs. At the annual town meeting, where suffrage is limited only by citizenship, the supervisors, town clerks, justices

of the peace and other town officials are elected, and money is appropriated for schools, libraries, roads, bridges and other local purposes.

The county, the next unit, consists of an aggregate of several townships. Its officials are chosen at the general State election, and it possesses a local assembly formed of the township supervisors. This assembly audits accounts, supervises the county affairs, and legislates as to various county matters.

Next to the county stands the sovereign State, with its legislature for the regulation of State affairs, and above the State the Federal government, which deals only with national concerns.

Here we have a consistent and balanced system of self government. Let us glance at the English arrangement of local rule. Here we find different conditions.

M. D. Chalmers, in "Local Government" in the "English Citizen Series," describes it in the following manner:

> "Local government in this Country may be fitly described as consisting of a chaos of areas, a chaos of authorities and a chaos of rates. Confusion and extravagances are the characteristic features of the whole system."

In practice this arrangement may be presumed to work beneficially and to the entire satisfaction of the majority of the English people, but it is certainly widely different from the American system.

The English Parliament makes laws and regulates local and municipal, to say nothing of domestic and parochial affairs for all the communities of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. As we have seen, the American Congress is concerned only with questions of national import. To it are delegated only certain limited powers, all the other rights remaining in the individual States. State affairs are left to the State,

THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE, HOLLAND. A GIFT OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN, ANDREW CARNEGIE.

county concerns to the county, and township matters to the township meeting or elections, etc.

Any student of Dutch history will at once recognize the analogy between the American system and the former and present Dutch systems in Holland. The States General has two legislative houses, the First and Second Chamber. The members of the First Chamber or Upper House are elected by the Legislatures of the Provinces. The members of the Second Chamber are elected by popular vote, and receive a substantial salary. The provincial affairs are left to the different provincial legislatures, the city and town affairs to the respective city and town councils. The Supreme Court of the Netherlands has been from time immemorial a powerful and august tribunal.

The written ballot was not adopted in England until 1872. Four of the original thirteen States, Delaware, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Georgia, in their first state constitutions adopted during the years from 1776 to 1790, provided that all elections should be by ballot. In New York the governor and lieutenant governor were elected by this system in 1778. The written ballot was an established institution in ten years more.

So much for the contrast of the English and American governments, politically speaking.

As the slogan, "All men are created equal," is the foundation of the political edifice of the United States, so is "freedom of thought and speech" the cornerstone of the social system. Making due allowance for the very restricted ideas people formerly had of freedom of thought and speech, still we must look in vain for a manifestation of this principle in England at the time of the foundation of the colonies. The last restriction to religious freedom in England, the religious tests in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, was

abolished only in 1871, nearly a century after complete religious liberty had been proclaimed in the United States.

Most important in the development of England has been the Established Church. Equally important in the United States has been the lack of a State Church. In England the church was for centuries an adjunct of the State supported by a universal tax levied alike on conformists and non-conformists. Its ministers are not appointed by their congregations but are selected by the government, or by private individuals who have purchased or inherited this right. In the beginning several of the colonies established churches supported by the State, following the English example. The Revolution severed this tie with the others. New York, as befitted her Dutch origin, led the way in her first constitution adopted in 1777, repealing and abrogating, in this instrument, all such parts of the Common Law and all such statutes as "could be construed to establish or maintain any particular denominations of Christians or their ministers." All the other original States followed her example, Massachusetts being the last in 1833. Some of the Colonies, having no established church, seemed to require no constitutional provision on the subject.

Clearly, it was not the English example that the Americans followed in establishing religious toleration. Rather is Great Britain a debtor to the United States in this respect, as the world at large is in many other respects.

Freedom of the press is always a doubtful privilege in an aristocratic government. As soon as it came to be recognized as a power, about a century after its introduction into England, the printing press was placed under a strict censorship. Printing might be carried on only in specified places, and a book had to be approved by an official board before it could be given to the pub-

lic. In 1693 this law expired, but immediately there began a series of trials for libel.

Backed by the remarkable Common Law doctrine, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," the courts tried the unfortunate publisher for any statement concerning the corruption of an official, having no regard for the truth of the statement, but only allowing the jury to decide whether or not the prisoner had published the article in question. If the prisoner was found guilty, he was punished by fine or imprisonment or both.

This abuse grew to such proportions that sturdy English jurors were found who were willing to suffer imprisonment for contempt of court rather than convict a man for telling a self-evident fact. It was not until 1845 that the truth was admitted as evidence, and the jury allowed to inquire what motive actuated the defendant, whether malice or the good of the community.

In the United States quite a different condition appears. An amendment to the Federal Constitution, adopted in 1791, forbade Congress to make any "law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Even before this, in 1790, Pennsylvania had adopted her second Constitution, which provided for the same freedom of the press that was established in England fifty-five years later. The other States followed in close order with similar provisions. Freedom of the press, it is easily seen, was American before it was English.

It seems hardly necessary to speak of the early public school system of England as compared with that of the United States.

From its inception, New England devoted much attention to the education of her children. As early as 1647 in Massachusetts Colony, a law was passed providing a schoolmaster for every fifty families, his wages to be paid either by the

parents or from the public fund, as the majority of citizens should decide. Every Massachusetts town had a common school and every community of over a hundred population a grammar school by 1665. In Connecticut every town was compelled to support a school for three months of every year, or be liable to a fine. In New York the Dutch had already founded the first free schools and the first Protestant Church in America. In accordance with this policy, we find the other New England colonies adopting similar plans.

Only in Virginia, the most typically English of all the colonies, untouched by the Dutch influence that tempered the Northern States, do we find opposition to popular education and the freedom of the press. It seems strange to an American mind to read the words of Sir William Berkeley, the English Governor of Virginia, written to England in 1671:

> "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them this hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

And all this time free schools and free printing were flourishing in the Netherlands.

Free schools, both for girls and boys, dated in the Netherlands from the thirteenth century.

In England we find the condition that the worthy Governor prayed for. From the time of Edward VI, who ascended the throne in 1547, until 1832 there was no growth in the number of free schools in England. During his reign eighteen grammar schools, charitable institutions rather than popular schools, were established. Added to these were several founded by private citizens. Not until 1832 did Parliament sup-

plement these by an appropriation of £20,000. In 1870 England for the first time established schools for the masses.

Passing into the realm of higher education, we find that while the United States possessed for years a system of free high schools, England afforded no free education to the middle class, and no free higher education to any. Almost every State in the Union has its State university and its State normal schools for the training of teachers, men and women. In these free instruction is the almost universal rule. We must look in vain to England for the origin of the American recognition of the right of every person to a complete and thorough education at the public expense.

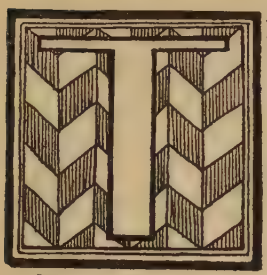
In the United States, as in the Netherlands, the blind, deaf, dumb and imbecile have been looked upon for long years as having a claim on the State, and the asylums for their care and instruction are supported, in almost every case, entirely by the government. There was a time when Great Britain did not take the same view of this important matter.

In the matter of prisons little comment is necessary. When the House of Commons decided for the first time, in 1831, to investigate the subject of prison reform, a Mr. Crawford was sent to examine the prisons of America for possible improvements on the English system, and his report resulted in the adoption of the American system as a model in England.

The method of land distribution and title transference is of great consequence in the development of the per capita wealth of any nation. The almost unbelievably confusing system of land transference made it very difficult for the small farmer in England to buy or hold land. We refer the interested reader to "Ten Thousand a Year," written by Dr. Warren. Compare with this the simplicity of the American system of

DUTCH INFLUENCE ON CIVILIZATION, EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN

DUTCH INFLUENCE ON CIVILIZATION, EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN



HE great river of Dutch influence which carried on its strong tide many of the seeds of present-day American civilization, and cast them on the western shores of the Atlantic, where they took root and grew, had three sources.

These consisted of : first, the great and almost immeasurable effect the example of the Netherlands had upon the general culture and progress of Northern Europe prior to the establishment of the colonies; second, the knowledge the English soldiers brought back from their never-ending excursions to the "Low Countries," the battle-ground of religious and political freedom, knowledge which traveled from England to America; and, third, and most important, the direct contact of the founders of the American colonies with the enlightened ideas of the Netherlands, which later served as a model to the builders of the American republic.

Of the first of these sources, the volume is so great that it is well nigh impossible to compass even a small part of it in limited space. From the beginning of the twelfth century the Low Countries were the clearing house of European culture and commerce, and its inhabitants had far outstripped their neighbors. To the factories of the Netherlands were brought the raw materials of England, France and Spain, whose merchants took back to their own lands the products of Dutch ingenuity. These people who built their cities on piles and fought a bitter fight with the North Sea for every foot of their miniature land, were the first to glorify the "home" both as

a physical dwelling place and as a spiritual unit. From the intercourse they held with the Orient, first through the returning Crusaders and later through commercial contact, they observed and adopted with improvements a multitude of the ideas which the comfort-loving Oriental had evolved in his "heathen" land. The bulbs which laid the foundation of an industry of almost unbelievable proportions were brought in some travelers' packs from the far land of the "Paynim," to be tenderly cared for by the beauty-loving Hollander. Fruits and vegetables unknown to Western Europe were brought from the East and transformed by the magic of Dutch gardeners, soon spreading to the rest of Europe. The marvelous fabrics of the Orient inspired the master weavers of the Low Countries, and the Oriental wind-mill was put to work at the never-ending task of keeping the encroaching waters in their proper place and furnishing power for every conceivable purpose.

In accordance with the Dutch idea, which is to improve on whatever is borrowed, the wind mills assumed a somewhat new shape. The Dutch enlarged the size of the arms and the sails outside and the wheels and grinding stones within. They invented the sawmill, which has played so important a part in the lumber industry of the United States. The interior of the mill became a human dwelling or a store house, and the revolving top was added, which enables the miller to catch the wind from any quarter.

It is characteristic that while all other Europeans were doing their best to destroy as much of the Oriental civilization as possible, the tolerant Netherlander was busy learning from the polished Oriental those things that have made the beauty and elegance of Dutch dwellings, even of the peasant class, a matter of wonderment to the travelling foreigner, from Guicciardini in 1533

to de Amicis and countless others of the present day. Underclothing, napkins, table and bed linen, carpets, wall paper, bathtubs, soap and perfume, were only a few things that the Hollander realized the worth of and brought back to his home from southeastern Europe and Asia Minor. Then he improved them and gave them to the rest of Europe.

As the demand for these luxuries grew, the ship building industry assumed a like proportion, and the Dutch cities grew rich and powerful through trade with Mediterranean and Oriental ports.

The effect of one cause becomes in its turn the cause of a second effect.

Having plenty of work and consequently wealth and power, the mechanics were able to form guilds. The towns with their abundant funds purchased from the feudal lords charters giving liberal rights and privileges. Step by step the towns gained more freedom. Never relinquishing one iota of it, except after a fierce struggle and then soon regaining what was lost, they fast became centers of liberty and political equality. How strange this condition must have appeared to their English neighbors in those days may be imagined from the statement of David Meldrum, an English writer who remarks: "The spirit of self-government seems to rest over Holland."

One powerful factor in forming the civilization of the Netherlands was the never ceasing intercourse with Italy. The Roman occupation of the Low Countries left its mark in many ways, direct and indirect. The dykes, which one writer calls the "skeleton of the Netherlands," were at first the work, not of a primitive barbarian race, but of the skilled engineers of Rome. There is no suggestion in the Holland of today of the neglect of Roman engineering as in some other European

countries. The first dykes have been enlarged and perfected, the lakes drained and canals dug, until the geography of Holland has become almost unrecognizable, and an entire new province, Sealand, or Zeeland, as the motto "luctor et emergo," (I struggle but I emerge), implies, has risen from the jealous bed of the North Sea to take her place among her sister provinces.

The dykes, though very important, were by no means the only outcome of the Roman influence. Holland, unlike other lands occupied for a time by Cæsar's cohorts, did not revert to a primitive condition when the Romans withdrew.

The Romans had been great users of brick, and in Britain and the Rhine regions samples of a small tile-like brick are not unknown in the places where Roman ruins still remain. After the crusades, brick making was recommenced with great vigor in Holland. Indeed the brick of Northern Europe, in its modern form, may be called a Dutch invention. Dwellings, walls, pavements and roadbeds were only a few of the uses found for the clay mud at the bottom of the rivers, after it had been baked into a brick so hard that the common name is "klinker." Great churches arose. Notable is the wonderful cathedral tower at Utrecht. Built of millions of bricks it has not swerved a hair's breadth from the perpendicular in five centuries.

Besides making bricks, tiles, drain pipes and terra cotta ornamentation, the Netherlanders learned to glaze tiles and to roof their houses with them. Out of their experience with these forms of handling clay later industries were evolved. Table crockery, fireplace picture tiles and tobacco pipes made Delft and Gouda famous.

Wood engraving was a Dutch invention. Printing from blocks is admittedly of Holland origin, and though the Germans claim the invention of

"The Palace in the Forest" at The Hague, Holland. The historic home of the Princess of Orange, Stadholders and later Sovereigns of the Netherlands.

printing from movable type, many give the honor to Laurenz Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, Holland, and set the date as 1434. However this may be, Holland has the incontestable glory of bringing forth the Elzevirs whose books were so perfect that a typographical error in one of them renders it almost priceless as a bibliographical curiosity.

The Netherlands soon became the chief printing office of Europe. The Bible was translated into Dutch and published in 1477. As many as twenty-four editions of the New Testament and fifteen of the Bible had been printed and published in the Netherlands before one copy of either was printed in England. Books were printed in every civilized tongue and spread throughout the world.

Until the time of Elizabeth the Netherlands was practically the only manufacturing country in Northern Europe. The cloth industry of the Dutch Provinces absorbed the raw material of England, Spain and France.

In horticulture Holland took her place as leader from the very beginning. Brilliant blooms, foliage and fruits never before seen in Europe were brought from distant lands to a new home in the Low Countries, and by 1450 Holland had become one of the gayest garden lands in the world. From the end of the earth the venturesome Dutch captains brought exotics to such good purpose that hundreds of our present day common flowers, trees and vegetables, under the skillful care of the Netherland gardeners, became acclimated, first in Holland, then throughout Europe and later in America.

The Dutch invented or greatly improved the green-house, and invented the enclosed and covered forcing bed, and the winnowing fan.

The modern plough consisting of several distinct parts is a Dutch invention.

Not only did the botanists of the Netherlands write in their own language, but almost all of the early English agricultural works were written by Dutch authors.

Because of the careful study of soils and scientific feeding the Netherlands soon led Europe in the production of milk, cream, butter, cheese, meat, hides and horns. In the days when tea and coffee were unknown the introduction of hops to improve the flavor of beer, then the universal beverage of the people, was a great feat of the Dutch brewers.

Through long and careful experimentation the Egyptian flax in its new home by the North Sea was made to yield such wondrous fibre that Flemish and Dutch flax soon became famous all over Europe. Linen manufacturers sprang up, and with them the kindred trades. Spinners and websters, dyers, bleachers and burrelers flourished. Lace making, probably originated in the convents of Italy, soon reached a high plane in the Netherlands. So precious became the fine yarn only produced in the Low Countries that one year the price of the crop exceeded the value of the ground it grew on.

Of the small things that spell the difference between primitive living and comfort the Dutch took particular care. They invented the thimble. We owe to them the use and application of starch. So famous became the laundresses of Holland that most of the soiled linen from the homes of the English nobles found its way across the Channel to return spotless. Bleaching of linen reached such a dignity that "Holland" became the mark of perfection on any white fabric. The invention, in the thirteenth-century Netherlands, of the shirt, night dress, bed-tick, pocket handkerchief, tablecloth and napkin meant a great deal in those days when personal comfort and cleanliness were the rarest of luxuries. So many of the

products of civilization surround us today, so many little taken-for-granted things, that it is difficult to realize that each was evolved in the brain of some individual or improved step by step in the onward march of mankind.

Health, cleanliness and comfort for man and beast became and remain a passion with the Netherlander. In spite of, perhaps because of the harshness of Dame Nature in the treatment of this swampy land the Dutch home became a model of luxury and refinement to the whole of Europe.

In 1609, nearly a century before the foundation of the Bank of England, the Bank of Amsterdam was founded and grew immediately to enormous power in the commercial community. It is interesting to note that when the great central Bank of England did come into existence, not a few of the first directors of the new enterprise were Dutch settlers in London. And the Netherlanders still maintain their pre-eminence in financial matters, the Bourse of Amsterdam being foremost amongst the Exchanges of the world.

In Holland was discovered the art of polishing and cutting diamonds, and for centuries Amsterdam possessed a monopoly enterprise which indeed she may be said to hold today. Amsterdam lapidaries are considered the best in the world.

Along with the development of the more prosaic manufacturers went the growth of the fine arts.

Nowhere was the cultivation of architecture more general than in the Netherlands. While many of the cathedrals throughout the Low Countries are brilliant masterpieces, still the church did not absorb all the genius of the people as it did in many other countries. Town halls, guild halls and other public buildings erected

by master builders as early as the twelfth century, still delight the eye and excite the wonder of the tourist.

Not only were official buildings constructed carefully and well, but private dwellings were charmingly and strongly built to satisfy the exacting taste of the rich burghers. Even the houses of the peasants and the common people surpassed those of the gentry in the other countries of Northern Europe, in regard to comfort, convenience and hygienic surroundings.

For two hundred years the Netherlanders had no rivals in the field of music. From 1380 to 1562 the Low Countries furnished all the courts of Europe not only with singers, but with composers and performers of instrumental music. William Dufay, John Okeghem and Adrian Willaert are the notable names in the "Netherland School" of this period.

While Campbell claims that Milton did not disdain to copy from the Dutch bard Vondel, and adds that Holland produced some great poets, it is in scientific literature that the Netherlands places its claim to literary excellence. History, law and legal philosophy, engineering, medicine, botany and horticulture, scientific research and countless other branches of practical civilization owe a great debt to the writers of the Netherlands. One modern writer has called Dutch literature "the finest fruit of civilization."

If nothing else of mark had ever been produced in Holland, she would have come down to fame as the birthplace of great painters. De Amicis says: "Dutch painting was born with the liberty and independence of Holland."

Rembrandt, Jan Steen, Paul Potter of the famous bull, Ruysdael, Hobbema, Van der Meer, Van der Velde, Berghem, Karel de Jardyn, Backhysen, Van der Helst, Hals, Gerard Douw, Albert Cupp, are only a bare handful of the il-

lustrious names in the development of Dutch art. Enough to say that the world owes the invention of oil painting to the brothers Van Eyck, as well as the introduction of a perspective background instead of the flat color or gilt background of the early "distemper" painters. In later years the Dutch school of painting has maintained its pre-eminence. Joseph Israels, Mesdag, the brothers Maris, Mauve, Schelfhout, Bosboom, Rozenboom, Willey Martins, Willem Witsen, Blommers, and many others are maintaining the glorious tradition.

The Dutch painters were the first to glorify the homely and material things of life. They did not confine themselves to subjects only suitable for the churches, but produced pictures to grace the walls of even the humblest homes. The beloved canals and the changeable skies, the green "polder," and the contented cattle, the happy, rosy face of the capable, cleanly "huisvrouw" took the place of the saints and angels of prior schools. Because the Netherlanders had to struggle so hard for the comforts that nature had denied them, they prized them accordingly.

But the Netherlanders were foremost in the sciences as well as in the fine and liberal arts and manufacturing.

So many of the inventions that have made the study of the exact sciences possible originated in the Netherlands, that it is almost impossible to assemble even the greatest of them.

Cornelius Drebbel invented the thermometer, and while the name of the discoverer of the telescope is in some doubt, the three possibilities were all Hollanders. To Leeuwenhoek is due the microscope. Snellius introduced the true method of measuring the degrees of latitude and longitude. Christian Huygens invented the pendulum clock, and was the first to apply the micrometer to the telescope. The invention of

these instruments made possible the investigation of the whole field of science.

Glories like these are by no means confined to the long ago, for today the scientists of the Holland Universities are foremost among their brethren in the world of learning.

But to proceed: The first scientific study of Greek was begun under Hemsterhuys.

Probably the most celebrated physician that ever lived, with the exception of Hippocrates, was the Hollander Boerhaave; with Albinus and Sylvius, he made the medical school of Leyden the most famous in Europe.

In 1586 Stevinus published his "Principles of Equilibrium," which founded the science of statics. He also introduced the use of decimal fractions and predicted the adoption of a decimal coinage, weights and measures.

In the liberal or speculative sciences, too, the Hollanders were foremost amongst the scholars of the world.

Of the world's philosophers Erasmus and Spinoza are only two of the multitude whose teachings were the gift of Holland to mankind.

The lawyers of the Netherlands have been notable at all times. The first great systematic treatise on International Law was published by Grotius. His great work on "Law of Peace and War" "awakened the world's conscience," as Griffith expresses it.

Many were the notable Dutch lawyers who preserved the spirit and the letter of the just and liberal Code of Justinian and contributed to the legal literature of modern civilization. Rome was to the lawyers of the Netherlands what Italy was to the Dutch painters, merely an inspiration. Their own accomplishments stand out boldly.

The same may be maintained in regard to the study of botany. Pisa had established a public botanical garden in 1543, and other Italian cities

followed close suit. Leyden, in 1577, founded the first one outside of Italy. From this start Holland became the home of the greatest agricultural and horticultural researches of medieval and modern times, and today the Holland botanists, florists and gardeners are foremost in their profession. What botanist does not know our present Hugo de Vries of Amsterdam?

While the influence of Italy helped Holland mightily in her victorious battle with the darkness of Western and Northern Europe, too much stress must not be laid on this source of her greatness. It was the well-balanced, liberty-loving and tolerant character of the Dutch people that formed the crucible into which the amalgam and the dross of European and Oriental civilization were cast, and out of which flowed the pure golden stream of philosophic, scientific, artistic and mechanical attainment that placed the Netherlands "two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe at the time of the founding of the American colonies."

It was only in keeping with the rest of her policy that the Netherlands should have been the the home and the refuge of religious liberty. William the Silent, the personification of all that is fine and high in the Dutch nature, in 1578 put this principle into a simple sentence. "We declare to you, therefore," he said, "that you have no right to trouble yourselves with any man's conscience so long as naught is done to cause private harm or public scandal." A novel statement this in Europe of the sixteenth century, when rack and stake were considered necessary adjuncts to religion.

Hand in hand with the principles of religious toleration goes the progress of education. Drawn by the promise of peace and the opportunity for unpersecuted endeavor, the great students of religious and scientific philosophy flocked to the

cities of the Netherlands. The University of Leyden, born of the unfailing patriotism and liberality of William the Silent and the Legislature of Holland, grew to be more than worthy of its origin. Other magnificent schools arose, vying with one another to procure and to produce the greatest teachers and scholars. No honors were too great for the distinguished men who came as preceptors to these seats of learning. A partial list of the great professors of Leyden reads like the roll of the Hall of Fame. There was Scaliger, "the most extraordinary master of general erudition that ever lived," according to Hallam. Of his successor Salmasius it was said "that what he did not know was beyond the bounds of human knowledge." Grotius came as a boy of eleven to study at Leyden. While it is as a lawyer that he is best known to the modern world, he was also famous as a diplomatist, theologian, philologist and historian. Decartes, "founder of modern mechanical philosophy"; Spinoza, perhaps the greatest philosopher and the most perfect character of modern times; Justus Lipsius, the remarkable historian; John Drusius, the Orientalist; Gomarus and Arminius, the theologians; the celebrated geographer Cluverius; and Peter Paauw, who founded the botanical gardens at Leyden and whose writings on physics, anatomy and botany are still among the foremost authorities; these and others almost as notable but too numerous to mention, helped to make Leyden the marvel of the educational world.

Gerhard Groot, founder of the famous "Brotherhood of the Common Life," was born in Deventer in 1340, and from the wonderful schools founded by this order came Thomas à Kempis, Zerbolt, Gansevoort and Erasmus. To these schools and to the Universities flocked the youth of the Netherlands. Next to Italy in the

fourteenth century the Netherlands led the world in the number of her schools for the people.

The Netherlanders, as befitted their maritime situation, were from an early date notable among those "who go down to the sea in ships."

The fisheries grew to enormous proportions. In their frail boats the sturdy sailors breasted the turbulent North Sea and took toll of their ancient enemy. They discovered fish curing, and the smoked and salted herring came into commercial existence.

Not satisfied with the passages already discovered by Spanish and Portuguese merchants and explorers, the stalwart Dutch navigators resolved to open up a northern way to the rich lands of the Orient, and made several remarkable voyages with that aim.

Under the leadership of Linschoten, author of the first scientific book on the navigation of Eastern waters, the first expedition to the polar areas was begun on June 5, 1594. On this voyage the islands of Nova Zembla were discovered and accurately mapped, and the Straits of Waigatz passed. In the next year, 1595, encouraged by Jan van Oldenbarneveldt and the Stadholder Maurice, seven ships were equipped and set out to find the dreamed-of north-east passage. Sailing again through the Straits of Waigatz, they landed at Staten Island, but were forced to return to Amsterdam by the approaching winter. Although the officials refused to finance further attempts, a liberal reward was offered for the discovery of the new way to the East, and nothing daunted, another expedition set forth in May, 1696. This time Spitzbergen, within ten degrees of the pole, was reached, but the ice made it necessary to turn back, and the winter was passed amid terrible hardships on Nova Zembla.

While these voyages were being made toward the north pole the Dutch had reached the East

Indies by the Cape Passage in 1595, and founded that great institution, the Dutch East Indian Company, incidentally exploring the antarctic as well as the arctic zones at the same time.

Linschoten's map of the Indies, the first of its kind, and the result of untiring labors on the part of the cartographer, together with a translation of his book of voyages, was published in England in 1598, and created an intense and lasting interest there. Shakespeare refers to it in "Twelfth Night."

Batavia, the present day headquarters of the Dutch Colonial Empire, was founded as a city in 1602 on the island of Java. It stands today as an evidence of the beneficent and far-seeing colonial policy that enables a small nation at the far side of the world to rule her vast possessions without the aid of great standing armies, and in peace and prosperity for both the natives and their white governors.

Such, therefore, was the Republic of the United Netherlands at the time of the settlement of the American Continent by the white race. Holland was holding the flaming torch of civilization high above Europe and the effect on the general culture of the western world, including America, was both direct and predominant.

We come now to the second source of Dutch influence on America. Of the numerous English soldiers who went to the Lowlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later emigrated to the Colonies, it was only natural that many should carry away the seed of this high civilization to the American shore, where it fell on rich ground.

Situated as she was geographically and commercially, Holland became the logical "battle ground of Europe." War followed war, and the powerful nations were forever vainly contending with one another for the possession of what Na-

poleon later called "a deposit of German mud, thrown there by the Rhine."

But it was not every traveler who took a sympathetic view of Holland's achievements. We find for instance this amusing bit of rhymed satire by Andrew Marvell, entitled "Character of Holland."

> Holland, that scarce deserves the name of Land,
> Is but the off-scouring of the British sand,
> And so much earth as was contributed
> By English pilots when they heaved the lead,
> Or what by the ocean's slow alluvian fell
> Of shipwreckt cockle and mussel-shell;
> This indigested vomit of the sea
> Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.
>
> Glad, then, as miners who have found the ore,
> They, with mad labor, fished the land to shore;
> And dived as desperately for each piece
> Of earth, as if't had been of amber greece;
> Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
> Less than what building swallows bear away.
>
> How they did rivet, with gigantic piles,
> Through the center their new-catched miles;
> And to the stake a struggling country bound,
> Where barking waves still bait the forced ground—

and so on for many pages, branding the unsurpassed engineering of the Low Countries as an unforgivable national crime. The Duke of Alva remarked charmingly that the Dutch were "of all peoples those that lived nighest hell," and the Dutch people, vindicating this reputation, sent many of their would-be conquerors to that undesirable place.

In 1664 an English writer, after condemning everything Dutch, added to his aspersions this horrible accusation, as sure proof of the outer darkness of the Netherlander:

"The Dutchman's building is not large, but neat; handsome on the outside, on the inside hung

with pictures and tapestry. He that hath not bread to eat hath a picture."

But however much the rest of Europe resented the man-made prosperity of the Netherlands, they soon recognized the desirability of possessing some of it for themselves. The Low Countries became a recognized school for the soldiers of every land, and it was here that Miles Standish of the Pilgrims, John Smith, Gorgas, Dudley, Lion Gardiner, Leisler, Argall, Wingfield, Raleigh, and all the other military men of the early American colonies were trained in their warlike profession and fought to their own everlasting glory the great battle of freedom. Certainly the Netherlands and the world at large owed a great debt of gratitude to these men and to England who produced them.

Many of these English soldiers covered themselves with glory in the Lowlands. There they fought side by side with the Hollanders in their great war for freedom. They were apt pupils of those great generals, Maurice and Frederic Henry, both princes of Orange and both sons of the immortal William the Silent, the Liberator of the Netherlands.

These princes, as Stadholders of Holland, were captains-general of the armies of the Republic, and to be allowed to serve on their staffs was equivalent to a first-class military education.

But these foreign soldiers absorbed more than a military training. When they returned to England they brought with them the free ideas and ideals of the Netherlands, and through them these were communicated to the people of England and the Colonies across the sea.

However, the influence of the Netherland civilization on England was by no means restricted to the training of her soldiers.

In the arts of peace as well England vastly benefited from the more advanced stage of eco-

nomic development of her neighbor, and the American Colonies reaped the direct advantage.

It is impossible, here, to write in detail even of those things that directly affected the early American Colonies through the contact of the founders, either soldiers or civilians, with Dutch ideas which had penetrated England long before these men fled to the Low Countries. Many volumes could be filled, and still much would remain unsaid.

Very early in the history of religious reform, when the Netherlanders seemed doomed to be crushed under the iron heel of their Spanish invaders, there began a scattered immigration of Netherlanders into England. Naturally attracted by the regions reminding them most of home, they settled in the low swampy lands on the eastern coast. Here they built dykes, dug canals and even gave the name Holland to a district in Lincolnshire. In Norfolk they laid the foundation of a great weaving industry, and as their number grew to larger proportions, they made window glass, pins and needles, hats, gloves and fine furniture in London; baize-needles and parchment in Glochester; lace in Honiton and elsewhere in Devonshire; tapestry in Mortlake and Fullham; steel and iron in Sheffield; and in Sandwich, Leeds and Norwich, baize, serges, flannels, silks and bombazines. The people among whom these skilled artisans settled knew little of manufactures and less of scientific agriculture. The settlers showed the English fisherman how to cure herrings and the farmer how to raise vegetables, grasses and roots for his own table and the winter food for his cattle. With the merchants that came later from the Netherlands, they taught the English that the true source of wealth lay in the practice of skilled agriculture, manufactures and commerce rather than in the haphazard production of raw wool.

The use of glass, the coach, and systematic sewer drainage were all introduced into England by the Netherlanders.

Elizabeth, far-seeing monarch that she was, required each Dutch artisan to take an English-born apprentice, and every family in which such an apprentice lived started an ever-widening wave of moral and intellectual light.

London and Norwich, where the Netherlanders made their most important settlements, became the strongholds of English Puritanism.

It was from Norwich that the first Brownist colony went to Holland. In the adjoining county of Lincoln the Pilgrim Fathers founded their first congregations and thence also came the great body of the Puritans, who settled New England. In the low districts about the Humber and the Wash, reclaimed from the sea by the Hollanders, was the original Boston, and the Cambridge that gave name to the seat of Harvard College in the new land; and it was from these parts of England that America received its best immigration.

Not to speak, therefore, of the direct influence which the settlement of the Hollanders in New Amsterdam, later New York, naturally exercised on the shaping of American ideas, we see that indirectly and through diverse channels the influence of the Netherlands on the American Commonwealth was bound to be great.

To the third source of Dutch influence on America we shall devote the following chapter.

THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS ON AMERICA

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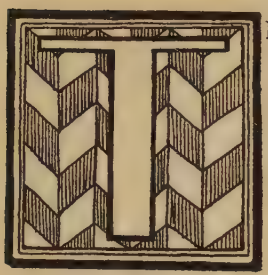

HE reasons for the unity in the history and ideas of the United States and the Netherlands form a very interesting chapter of historical philosophy. Just as a stream, small at the source, is fed along its course by the springs and seepage from its banks, and finally grows to a powerful river, so in the evolution of the great American Republic—from the handful of Pilgrims that landed on the rock of Plymouth, men and women fresh from a sojourn in Leyden and imbued with the Dutch ideals of liberty; from the fifty years' stay of the Dutch in New Amsterdam; from the political ideas borrowed later by American statesmen from the Netherlands; from these and many other sources came the great force that made Holland the real Mother Country of the United States.

We have seen how the Dutch artisans who settled in England had much to do with the rise of Puritanism in that country. It was but natural that the persecuted Pilgrims should turn to the home of religious toleration, whence had come news of the peaceful liberty enjoyed by believers in every form of worship. As a youth William Brewster had been sent to the Netherlands in an official capacity. When he advised the Pilgrims to go to Holland where "religion was free to all men," while in England they momentarily expected to suffer the same treatment that had been accorded other "heretics" of almost the same belief as theirs, they were glad to follow him and John Robinson, their pastor, across the sea to the Low Countries.

After many vicissitudes due both to human iniquity and the perversity of the elements, the Pilgrims arrived in Amsterdam, and after a year's stay, Robinson obtained leave from the authorities of Leyden to bring his flock to that city. There they lived quietly for eleven years, prospering despite the fact that they were mostly farmers, ill adapted to the mechanical work that the city life demanded of them. They bought and sold land, and took part in the municipal or township politics. They learned the cardinal Dutch virtues of thrift, patience, neatness, faith and toleration. They saw the public schools, orphan asylums, homes for the aged and poor, a free press. They recognized that the condition of the courts of justice, prisons and legal system in general was vastly superior to that of the same institutions in other parts of the world. Today in the Klog Steeg of Leyden may be seen the memorial stone placed there in 1865 with these words engraved on it: "On this spot lived, taught and died John Robinson, 1611-1622."

The Pilgrims were very happy in Leyden, but there were several reasons why a protracted stay in the Netherlands was inadvisable, chief among which was the fact that the war with Spain was to recommence in 1621, when the twelve years' truce was over. This meant the terror of strife, and the possible extermination of the Pilgrims as heretics in case Spain should be victorious.

Robinson's first idea was to settle near the Dutch colony in New Netherland, in the region of the Hudson River. In the early part of 1620 he communicated with the Dutch West India Company, planning to settle there with four hundred families, which were to include the Independents in England as well as those he had brought with him to Leyden. In a letter dated February 12th of the same year and addressed to the States Gen-

eral, the Amsterdam merchants offered to furnish free passage across the Atlantic to the Leyden Englishmen, and included the gift of cows and land. In addition they recommended that the States-General furnish two ships of war to protect the colonists from the Spaniards, but this the government was unable to do, as the war about to begin required the presence of every available means of defense at home.

Turning to England, after much trouble Robinson, Bradford and others succeeded in raising some funds at a very high rate of interest. Chartering the ship "Speedwell," they set out to join the English Pilgrims, who had procured the "Mayflower." The "Speedwell" proving unseaworthy, they were forced to crowd as many as possible of their number into the "Mayflower," and sailing from the Netherlands, adventured forth once more. One hundred men, women and children, besides the captain and crew, trusted themselves to the frail little craft. The adults were people of English, Dutch, French and Irish ancestry, and the children, who made up at least one third of the number, had most of them been born in Holland.

Naturally Plymouth, in the first years of its existence, had a very Dutch aspect, and many were the customs that its citizens had borrowed from their kind hosts in Leyden. Nor were the Pilgrims insensible of the gratitude they owed to the Hollanders, for in 1627 Bradford expressed their thanks for the kind treatment they had received in the Netherlands, to de Razieres, the Dutch envoy.

In the other New England colonies the Dutch influence was almost as strong as in Massachusetts if not so evident at the first glance.

Thomas Hooker, the founder of the very typical American commonwealth of Connecticut, was driven from England on account of his be-

lief. He was for some time in Amsterdam, preached two years at Delft, afterward at Rotterdam, and came directly from that city to New England. Here he took a prominent part in politics and in 1638 addressed a remarkably forceful letter to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts favoring a permanent confederation of the colonies after the example of the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands.

William Penn, father of Pennsylvania, was the son of the daughter of a Dutch merchant at Rotterdam. He saw service in the Dutch war and during an evangelistic tour of Holland in 1686 conferred with the Prince of Orange and found him in entire sympathy with the policy of toleration.

Roger Williams, to whom Rhode Island owes its existence, was a profound scholar of Dutch literature, and deeply imbued with the spirit of religious freedom acquired therefrom. Some of these ideas were imparted to the great English poet Milton, who in turn gave them to the British public. Williams refused to expel the Quakers who found refuge in Rhode Island, (although he was not at all in sympathy with their belief), regardless of the importunities of the more English citizens of the less tolerant communities.

The majority of the university-bred clergymen, physicians and lawyers who emigrated to the American Colonies, after the English college had been closed to non-conformists, were educated at Leyden or Utrecht, the rolls of the former showing over four thousand seven hundred names of English-speaking students between 1573 and 1873, the majority being in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sons of John Adams are among the number.

The theology of the Dutch professor Coccejus moulded not only the opinions of Robinson and

of Brewster, but of nearly all the Puritan writers of old and New England. Harvard College invited to her presidency Comenius of Amsterdam, and the first "printery" at Cambridge came from the same city. The first paper made in America was the work of the Dutch at Wissachickon Creek near Philadelphia in 1690.

In 1643, in accordance with Hooker's suggestion of five years previous, a confederation of the New England Colonies was formed with Massachusetts as the principal member, just as Holland was in the United Netherlands.

Naturally, the half century of Dutch occupation of New York and the surrounding territory left an indelible impression upon the history of the Eastern States. Under the leadership of Jesse de Forest, thirty-one families set forth from Leyden in March 1623, and settled at Staten Island, Wallen Bocht, (Wallabout as it is called today), and at Fort Nassau, on the present site of the city of Albany. The first settlement on Manhattan was in 1624, and from this beginning numerous colonies were spread over a large territory, covering practically the whole of New York and New Jersey.

The fruits of the contact of the early Americans with the Dutch on both sides of the Atlantic ripened early and the seeds, falling on a fertile soil, brought forth in abundance. The struggle for a material existence was of course a very important part of the endeavors of the first settlers, and from the example of the far-sighted Netherlander who possessed a veritable genius in making the land produce the very best possible crops, to whom the scientific breeding and care of cattle had long been a fine art, who made his swampy, wet little country the last word in the comfort and luxury of home life, who had built the great wealthy city of Amsterdam "on herring bones," as Captain John Smith remarked, to

whom Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, had gone to learn shipbuilding, and who had invented the sawmill—from this experienced teacher the colonists gained the knowledge that laid the foundation of the great industries that make the United States of today a wealthy, productive and great nation.

While the New Englander was vainly trying to produce crops entirely unsuitable to the rugged climate and striving with primitive tools to wrest a living from poorly cultivated soil, the slow but sure Dutchman was scientifically planting his carefully chosen land along the Hudson River and in the Mohawk Valley, draining and irrigating, and always taking care to enrich the soil, rich though it was in the beginning, in contrast to the wasteful methods of his more hurried neighbors. Some of the very best of the domesticated fruits of present-day America came directly from the experimental stations and botanical gardens in Leyden and Amsterdam, and were planted in the fertile river valleys of New Netherland.

As the Netherlanders had, after the crusades, introduced Oriental flowers, trees and vegetables to the rest of Europe, so their descendants in America instructed their neighbors to such good advantage in the raising of root crops, vegetables, buckwheat, flowers and various fruits and in the use of light plows, winnowing fans, axes, hot houses and sawmills, that the hardships of gaining a living in New England were materially alleviated.

It was Captain John Smith, the discoverer and namer of both Plymouth and New England, who first pointed out the latent wealth of the ocean. His prophecy that the main staple of wealth would be in the fisheries is proven true by the golden codfish that has hung for over a century in the legislative halls of Massachusetts as a sym-

THE OFFICIAL PAVILION OF THE NETHERLANDS AND ITS COLONIES AT THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION AT SAN FRANCISCO, 1915. (W. KROMHOUT, ROTTERDAM, ARCHITECT. MESSRS. WARD & BLOHME, SAN FRANCISCO, CONSULTING ARCHITECTS.)

bol of her prosperity drawn from the sea. From the Dutch the New Englanders learned, as the English had before them, to catch whales and herring, to cure food fish, and to make of the inferior kinds fertilizer for their fields. In due time the fisheries of New England became the permanent nursery of the United States navy and a school for heroes, besides being a source of untold wealth to the thrifty descendants of the original Yankees.

Next to the production of food comes the question of shelter and warmth in the list of necessities of the pioneer. In this respect no better instructors could have been found than the Dutch colonists whose countrymen had raised personal comfort and luxury to the dignity of a fine art. How eagerly the New Englanders adopted the ideas they had partly brought from Leyden and partly acquired from their New England neighbors, is easy of observation. The colonial relics that have come down to us reveal very plainly in name and appearance their Dutch origin. The Delft tiles on the hearths, the crockery, the blue tiles lining the front of the fireplaces in the best houses and most of the fine imported furniture in the northern colonies came from Holland. In the old Dutch towns in New York State and in Massachusetts villages the brick dwellings erected in the early colonial days by builders from Haarlem or Dordrecht, and made of klinkers fresh from the Vaderland, are still to be seen. Many of the old teapots and other tableware that followed the introduction of tea and coffee from the Orient came direct from the Netherlands.

Military gear and equipment, clothing, books printed on Dutch presses, spinning wheels and kitchen utensils were only some of the many importations from the land of dykes.

The New England Dutch thought little of traveling long distances on sleighs and of doing

their hauling in winter over snow and ice, and while their milk, butter and fresh meat were plentiful in the heart of the winter, their neighbors to the eastward were forced to cut and haul their firewood in clumsy carts before the winter set in, live on salt meat, make journeys only with the greatest difficulty and struggle desperately during the long winter months to keep life in their own bodies and those of their miserable cattle, who, Eggleston says, "survived the long winters rather as outlines than oxen."

It was on a Dutch sleigh that Oliver H. Perry made rapid transit to Lake Erie. It was by means of the Dutch invention called a "sea camel," so long successfully used in floating ships over the land bars known as the Pampus in front of the Zuiderzee Harbor of Amsterdam, that he floated his green timber ships out over the bar to victory, under the same colors that had floated from the masts of all the conquering ships of Piet Hein, Van Tromp and de Ruyter.

As the seventeenth century literature and folk speech of England are full of references to the mechanical and inventive genius of the Dutch artisans who laid the foundation of British supremacy in manufacture and commerce, so even in Connecticut was the skill of the Knickerbockers admired. A new invention or improvement was said to be Dutch.

When the open fireplace in the colonial kitchen disappeared a Dutch invention with a Dutch name took its place, the stove ("stoofje" in the Netherlands). In Plymouth principally, but occasionally throughout New England, may still be seen the spacious dome of brick and clay called a Dutch oven that made possible the production of the delectable baked dishes so closely associated with the skill of the New England housewife. To this day the cookey (Koekje), noodles, hodgepodge, smearcase and cold slaw that are import-

ant items in the menu of the Yankee farm house are, despite their changed spelling and pronunciation, ample proof that the early colonist enriched his monotonous fare by borrowing the more varied recipes of his Dutch neighbors in the west and south.

Even the buckwheat cake, associated forever with the American winter breakfast table, was introduced by the Hollanders from Central Asia, acclimated, cultivated, named "boek-weit" (beech-mast) and brought to perfection in the kitchens of the Low Countries.

After the New Englanders had borrowed the Dutch sawmill they soon made progress in the mastery of the great forests. It had been slow work with the old-fashioned saw pit and axe. Indeed, such strides did they make in ship building, in which Massachusetts ultimately led the world, that at the opening of the Revolution approximately half the British ships were colony-built.

Thanksgiving day was a Dutch institution. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the Pilgrims imitated the custom they had observed during their stay in the Netherlands. A day of thanksgiving and prayer was frequent after victory or good harvests in the Dutch States.

The American language bears witness to a marked Dutch influence. Such words as anchor, caboose, ballast, school (of fishes), sloop, stoker, stove, doily, brandy, duffel, cambric, easel, landscape, boss, stoop, forlorn hope, scow, Santa Claus, and a host of phrases in art, music, seamanship, handicraft, war, exploration and the peculiar lines of human achievement in the seventeenth century are Dutch more or less mispronounced.

In the development of the popular music of New England there is evident a distinctly Dutch influence. In the Netherlands the "voorsanger" and the singing school where the children were

taught hymns and patriotic songs, were commonplace. In New England and Western Massachusetts this institution was immediately adopted. In every Dutch church the congregation and the young people were instructed in music by a special teacher, and from this beginning sprang the singing schools which became a powerful factor in the evolution of New England civilization and which brought to light the talents of such men as Lowell, Mason and Thomas Hastings.

The van Ragens, mother and son, who brought both voice culture and instruments from the Netherlands, surpassed any of the native players or makers of musical instruments in Massachusetts, and were half a century in advance of the influences that made for the present excellence of Boston, musically speaking.

It would be easy to mention an additional long list of facts showing the direct influence of the Netherlands and its people on the economic and spiritual development of the people of the early American Commonwealth, but for fear of becoming monotonous we will desist.

THE DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE NETHERLANDS

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HE debt of America to Holland is difficult of estimation. If only the most obvious of the items, those for which the United States is self-evidently a debtor, be enumerated, the list is of amazing length.

Of all the western world Holland first established religious toleration, the principle which is one of the main foundations of the "American Idea," if not the greatest.

As the first modern Republic, Holland set the example of political equality that has gradually revolutionized this western world.

In the realm of international law her place is supreme. The American peace treaty policy of today is of Netherland descent.

The acceptance by the State of the obligation of educating the entire population, male and female, regardless of birth or property, was borrowed bodily from the Dutch.

Public schools, free to the children of the poor and charging a small sum to the well-to-do, had been established in the Netherlands by the middle of the fourteenth century, centuries before the founders of Massachusetts came to live in the city of Leyden. These were supported by taxes paid into the public treasury. In 1582 Friesland provided for the official selection of schoolmasters in the towns and villages, and in the following year Zeeland insisted upon general education "because it is the foundation of the commonwealth," as the school law reads. From this beginning the supervision of education by the State soon spread over the whole country.

In 1609 John of Nassau, oldest brother of William the Silent, wrote to his son, Stadtholder of Friesland, praising the system of free popular education: "Soldiers and patriots thus educated, with a true knowledge of God and a Christian conscience, besides churches and schools, good libraries, books and printing presses, are better than all armies, arsenals, armories, munitions, alliances and treaties that can be imagined in the world." We are accustomed to such arguments in the twentieth century, but such sentiments were most unusual in those dark days when might made right and popular education was often regarded as a danger in the rest of Europe.

The free schools in the first New England colonies and the comprehensive system of popular education which have developed in the most remote parts of the United States, play a very important part in the general enlightenment of America. An enormous proportion of the great American statesmen, executives and inventors, born in the country districts, might have been doomed to perpetual oblivion but for the time they spent in the ever-present "district school" assimilating the three "R's."

The first free schools in America, open to all and supported by the government, were established by the Dutch settlers of New York, and even at the present time, true to her Dutch founders, the Empire State leads the rest of the country in the excellence and number of her schools and the enormous sums appropriated by her State Legislature for their support. As in Holland, so in the United States, there is a large foreign population seeking in the new country what centuries ago they sought in the old: the right to make a decent living without unjust interference, and it is the children of these aliens that make the citizens of tomorrow; citizens that in most cases, owing to the fine schools they have attended, will

add materially to the growth and prosperity of the adopted country of their often more or less uneducated parents.

In free universities also Holland was America's preceptor.

Higher education of the people of the Netherlands was never neglected. For this purpose were established the classical schools, now called gymnasiums, corresponding to the American high schools. These were to be found in every large city in the Netherlands. The most famous was at Dordrecht. It was founded in 1290, and by 1635 had a matriculation of six hundred pupils, many coming from France and Germany.

Something has already been said of the famous University of Leyden which opened in 1575. By 1638 four universities had been established in this small country, all of them of remarkable excellence and with famous instructors gathered from the nations of the earth, regardless of religious beliefs or other prejudices.

When the Pilgrims went to Leyden in 1609 they found to their surprise that the Netherlands was a country of schools supported by the State. "A land," according to Motley, "where every child went to school, where almost every individual inhabitant could read and write, where even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics and could speak two or more modern languages."

When Roman Catholicism was abolished as State Church in the Netherlands, the ecclesiastical property was devoted to education, to charitable institutions and to the support of the clergy, quite in contrast to the distribution of similar wealth in England by Henry VIII, who claimed for himself what he did not distribute among his favorites.

And to what country is America indebted for the origin of its great charitable institutions?

Surely, next in importance to the education of children comes the care of the incompetents and unfortunates in a community. The Netherlanders realized at an early date the beneficial results of the systematic care of these citizens, and as a consequence the writers of every age have exclaimed over the remarkably efficient institutions in the Netherlands for this purpose.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Dutch led the world in caring for the decrepit and the unfortunate. Hospitals provided with every convenience were always open to the sick and aged, and in addition to these were old people's homes similar to the modern ones, in which for payment of a moderate sum care was assured an old person for the remainder of his life. In each town persons of wealth and responsibility were biennially appointed to receive alms in the churches and principal places of resort and to administer such funds at their discretion, to which were added the proceeds of a small tax and the bequests of the charitable. Under their direction the poor were so well cared for that they were under no necessity to beg. The children of such as were unable to support them were brought up until a certain age at the expense of the State, and then bound out as apprentices to some trade or manufacture. In times of scarcity the authorities of the town distributed food among the needy, whether native or foreign born. So frugal and industrious were the people that except on rare occasion there were few requiring alms save the sick, maimed and aged.

The vast numbers of widows and orphans that the struggle with Spain inevitably created, together with the disabled soldiers and sailors were never neglected or forgotten by the people of the Netherlands. With the proceeds of the confiscated church property, asylums and hospitals were founded in every town to care for such un-

His Excellency, Jonkheer Dr. J. Loudon, Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs; inaugurator of negotiations for the general arbitration treaty of December, 1913, being the first treaty of this nature concluded between the United States and a European country.

fortunates. In these institutions administered with wisdom and economy and provided with every comfort, the orphans were educated and the widows and the veterans spent their years in ease. The magistrates of the cities were called upon to take an oath "to protect widows, orphans and miserable persons."

When we consider that at this time England was overrun with sturdy beggars, and that her soldiers and sailors when not in active service were allowed to die neglected in the streets, it is very evident where the United States acquired the ideas that have led to the establishment of the soldiers' homes, orphan asylums and hospitals for the sick and wounded of which the present-day American is so justly proud.

Voltaire, though he left Holland in anger, said that in her capital cities he saw "neither an idle man nor a poor man nor a dissipated man nor an insolent man," and that he had seen everywhere "labor and modesty." Amsterdam at the conclusion of the war with Spain, spent a million dollars annually on her public charities.

Owen Feltham, an English Royalist and High Churchman, writing as a contemporary, devotes a very interesting page of his "Observations" to the public institutions of the Netherlands at this time. More than any array of the multitudinous facts in the case, this statement of an Englishman of the period throws light on the subject. Let it speak for itself:

"You would think," says he, "being with them, you were in old Israel, for you find not a beggar among them. Nor are they mindful of their own alone, but strangers also partake of their care and bounty. If they will depart, they will have money for their convoy. If they will stay, they will have work provided. If unable, they find a hospital. The deprivation of manners they punish with contempt, but the defects of nature

they favor with charity. Even their Bedlam is a place so curious that a lord might live in it. Their hospital might lodge a lady; so that safely you may conclude amongst them even poverty and madness do both inhabit handsomely. And though vice makes everything turn sordid, yet the State will have the very correction of it to be near, as if they would show that, though obedience fail, yet government must be still itself and decent. To prove this they that do but view their Bridewell will think it might receive a gentleman, though a gallant, and so their prison a wealthy citizen. But for a poor man 'tis his best policy to be laid there for he that cast him in must maintain him."

Modern Holland is worthy of its great tradition in this respect as well as in all others.

When in 1914 its sister country, Belgium, overrun by foreign soldiers, was suffering all the horrors of war, the people of Belgium fled by the thousands, nay by the hundred thousands, across the border into Holland. The flag of Holland was floating over the sign posts indicating the Dutch frontier, the frontier of the land of liberty and charity. Thousands of homeless wanderers saw this flag waving to them a friendly welcome, if they could see at all, blinded by tears as they were. And over the border these poor people streamed in endless procession, the rich and the poor, the sane and the insane, the hale and the cripples, the law-abiding and the lawless —for poor Belgium gave up its population from the cities and the fields, from the homes, the factories and the asylums. And all of them were made welcome. It was a heavy burden Holland was staggering under. It not only kept its whole army under the colors, marking time at the frontier and in the fortress, ready to defend the country's honor and liberty, but in addition thousands of its own people had been compelled by the war

conditions prevailing in Europe generally to join the ranks of the unemployed, and now it harbored refugees variously estimated in numbers between seven hundred thousand and a million, refugees mostly destitute of all the necessaries of life. Nevertheless, the people of Holland, true to their heroic past, rose to the occasion and not a mouth was left unfed, not a body unsheltered, and when a powerful neighbor offered to pay part of the expenses the Queen's government quietly answered that it would discharge its own obligation of charity and benevolence.

What a tremendous undertaking for a numerically small nation already suffering under industrial distress!

But to return to our subject—

It was the Dutch that first adopted the plan now generally in vogue in the United States of making the convicts work at some useful trade during their confinement, rather than herding them together like unclean animals with no measure of time but light and darkness. The prisons were clean, the prisoners well fed and decently treated, and the dreadful prison fevers, the result of unspeakable conditions in other European prisons, were unknown in the Dutch penitentiaries. John Howard, the great English reformer, claimed in 1772 that more persons died from the jail-fever than on the gallows, although there were at that time one hundred and sixty offenses punishable by death in England. Even the judges sitting in the court of criminal assizes had to take precautions that this disease would not "attack them from the prisoners' dock."

While in England the wretched inmates were obliged to pay in some manner for their food and the straw upon which they slept, and were often compelled to remain in prison after their term had expired for lack of funds to pay their jailor, in the Dutch jails the prisoners were given the

same food as the seamen, with beer, and were only required to do a very moderate amount of work. While elsewhere men and women were huddled together, and helpless children subjected to the revolting horrors of the common cell, in Holland there was a separate prison for women, where they were employed in spinning and sewing, slept but two in a room, and were well fed, while the children were cared for in the numerous institutions for that purpose.

The Dutch prison reports of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read very much like those of the more enlightened countries of the twentieth century, and very much indeed like those of the United States of today.

The Netherlands, from the very nature of their land, were forced to be constructive; in a material way they had nothing to destroy. Naturally, they became as careful in other matters, and placed too high a value on human life to destroy or blight it unnecessarily, a sentiment entirely unknown in the countries where the feudal system placed the worth of a man at a little less than that of a horse or other valuable animal.

There is another phase of the Dutch nature which had a lasting effect upon America, and which in view of the present-day agitation on the subject is of more than passing importance.

The position of the women of Holland was always a matter of wonderment to the traveling Latin or Englishman. They were a little disposed to poke fun at the man who was willing to consult his wife upon important questions and to accept her word as law in any matter pertaining to the home. To these travelers the level-headed, calm-eyed Dutch "huis vrouw," schooled like her husband and ruling her home with a rod of iron, was a revelation.

Under the common law of England, which allowed a man to beat his wife, provided he used

a stick no larger than his finger, the women were dependent upon the personal justice of their men to almost as great an extent as a slave upon the gentleness of his master.

Thanks to some very modern writers whose more or less interesting "Impressions of America and the Americans" are as numerous as the sands of the sea, the position of the American woman as viewed by the average European today is not hard to determine. Some look with interest, some with horror, and all with surprise at the freedom enjoyed by wives in the United States, at the advanced ideas of the women, and of their calm acceptance by American men as being the just due of their life partners.

It is somewhat amusing to notice how very identical were the criticisms of the position of the women of Holland by the progenitors of these up-to-date travelers in the United States. Even the sympathetic De Amicis, in the nineteenth century, writes with wonder that the engaged girls in Holland were allowed to receive their fiances unattended, and that even the unmarried young ladies of the better class were free to make calls at distant parts of the cities, unchaperoned and fearless of being molested, and in all respects were allowed perfect freedom.

Guicciardini, writing in the sixteenth century, voices almost the same impressions: "They go out alone to make visits, and even journeys without evil report; they are able to take care of themselves. Moreover, they are housekeepers, and love their households."

Coeducation began in the Netherlands. In Holland the girls of every class receive the same schooling as their brothers. They are educated, treated as equals by their husbands, mingle in all the business of life, and in many cases take entire charge of the family property. Their opinion is listened to with respect.

Wise men have said that the position of the wife and mother throws the most light upon the civilization of a people. Tried by this test alone, the Netherlands stood two centuries in advance of the rest of Europe, at the time of the settlement of America, and America did well to adopt this advanced feminine policy long prevailing in the Netherlands.

HOLLAND'S ATTITUDE DURING THE BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

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HAT the essential political and economic qualities which the American is only too prone to look upon as his special property, and which inquiry shows to be largely of Holland origin, were not adopted unconsciously, is evident in the words of some of the early American statesmen.

John Adams remarked that "the originals of the two Republics are so much alike that the history of one seems but a transcript from that of the other." Said Benjamin Franklin of the Netherlands: "In love of liberty and in the defense of it, she has been our example."

Nor were these statements in the least exaggerated. As the Dutch threw off the yoke of Spain, so the United States rebelled against England because of the invasion of rights and unfair taxation. Like the Americans, the Netherlanders first formed a Union of States, and then issued a Declaration of Independence. Both nations fought long wars on their native soil, with a powerful enemy, both gaining in the end their hard-won freedom through sheer perseverance and endurance of unspeakable hardships. Both emerged from the great struggle as Republics and both nations today are open in their dislike if not hate of militarism and absolutism.

Holland has its liberator in William the Silent, Prince of Orange; the United States of America in George Washington.

The trouble the founders of the United States met in keeping the States within the Union during the critical period of the Revolutionary war,

and even after the Constitution had been formed, was paralleled in the Dutch Republic after the Pact of Union of Utrecht in 1579, two centuries before the same problems confronted the American statesmen. Like the United States, however, after much discussion of State rights, secession and the Union, the integrity of the republic was maintained for two hundred and fifteen years, finally giving way at that time to a constitutional monarchy in which personal, political and religious freedom are upheld by a descendant of the martyred "Father William," who laid down his life and fortune in defense of these very principles.

Almost all the words and phrases generally associated with the scream of the American eagle were roared out by the Dutch lion centuries before the eagle was even hatched. "The Union must and shall be preserved," "In Union there is strength" (the motto of the Dutch States General), "Without God all is vain" (like the American "In God we trust"), and countless other mottos and slogans that today inspire the patriotism of the American Republic, were born of the struggle of their Dutch forefathers in the war for independence.

In 1787, when the American Constitution was formed, the Dutch Republic was a living example before the eyes of the fathers of the Republic of the United States. Small wonder that the best parts of the Dutch system were incorporated in the new government. America profited by the Dutch example by accepting the best of its institutions and eliminating its wrongs and mistakes.

There is nothing remarkable in the same fundamental happenings appearing in the history of the two nations. The Dutch mind is closely akin to the American in its method of thought. The same keen practical genius distinguishes both.

The American is, perhaps, less conservative than the Hollander, but that is due rather to geography than to any difference in principle. The new-born movement in the United States towards the constructive conservation of her resources has a tendency to remove even this distinction between the two national characters.

We have already seen that the township system, adopted from the start by the New England settlers, was the main plank in the foundation of the whole political structure of the present-day American Republic. The influence of local self-government upon New England life was very great. It proved an excellent training school in the science and art of politics.

Samuel Adams, who had more to do with preparing the public mind of Massachusetts for the Revolution than any other one man, has been called the "man of the town meeting." Thomas Jefferson expressed great admiration for town government and strove to introduce it into Virginia, where the English county system had tended to create an aristocratic and centralized local government. He said, "These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their government, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation," and again, "these little republics would be the main strength of the great one. We owe to them the vigor given to our Revolution in its commencement in the Eastern States."

There is nothing in the English system of government to suggest the New England township. Virginia, as befitted her entirely English origin, adopted the British ideas of parish and county.

The Massachusetts Pilgrims and Puritans and the Connecticut settlers, whose leaders, Davenport and Hooker, came direct from Holland

after several years' residence there, laid out the land in the identical manner prevalent in Friesland, the ultra-democratic province of the Netherlands. Following the same example they built their houses with stockades, gates, "a trench of six foote long and two foote broad," with common forest, pasture and arable land, with "common fence," common herd of swine daily led out at the sound of a horn, tended by day and led back by night, all "according to ye laudable custom of ye Low Countries."

There was published in Leyden in 1616, Ubbo Emmius' "History of Friesland," the press work and composition having been partly done by the Pilgrim printers. In this book the details of local organization and town government are given at length and read like a description of the early New England town meeting, with its account of the election after prayer by the written ballot of magistrates and selectmen.

The Dutch created in New York the chartered town, and after the English conquest of 1664 the county came into existence, but the township was first and retained the local powers not delegated to the county. In Pennsylvania, Penn set up a purely county organization, but the Dutch influence was too powerful, and the township appeared and began to develop in the colony.

As they followed the example of the Netherlands, who were "two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe," it is no wonder that Hinsdale in his "American Government" said: "Upon the whole, the colonies were fully abreast of any communities in the world in respect to civil and religious rights, and far in advance of most of them."

"When in the course of human events" the colonies decided to throw off the yoke of England and establish a government for themselves they had more than the political and diplomatic sympathy of the Hollanders.

A DETAIL OF A DIAROMA EXHIBITED IN THE OFFICIAL PAVILION OF THE NETHERLANDS AT THE SAN FRANCISCO EXPOSITION, REPRESENTING A FLEET OF MERCHANTMEN BELONGING TO THE FAMOUS DUTCH CHARTERED (GEOCTROOIEERD) WEST INDIES COMPANY OR AMERICA COMPANY, SAILING IN THE YEAR 1670 FROM AMSTERDAM ALONG THE EASTERN COAST OF THE ISLAND MARKEN, BOUND FOR NEW AMSTERDAM, NOW NEW YORK.

From the beginning of the Revolution the Dutch sided with the colonies and their republic against the monarchy of Great Britain.

They saw that England, endeavoring to replete her damaged treasury, was doing much as the Spanish King had done when he imposed exorbitant taxes on the Provinces of the Netherlands. Four of the thirteen States had been settled by Dutchmen, and the founders of New England had been educated in Holland. The American revolt followed in a hundred details that of the Netherlands in 1579 and 1581. The same red, white and blue flag led the two forces to victory.

When the Declaration of Independence was signed many Dutch officers crossed the ocean to enlist in the Continental Army. In New York and New Jersey the English-sympathizing "tory" was almost unknown. New York, largely Dutch in population, was the one State of the thirteen which paid up fully and promptly her quota of men, money and supplies.

A Dutch engineer in the United States Army named Romayne, greatly beloved by Washington, built the forts on the Hudson River, and was the author of a book comparing the Dutch and American Union, declarations of war, of independence, difficulties and prospects, and prophesying the success of the cause for which he later laid down his life.

A man-of-war was constructed by the Dutch for the United States in Amsterdam in 1777. The "Indian," afterwards renamed the "South Carolina," was a very large vessel for that time, and almost equalled a first-class ship of the line in appearance.

The first foreign salute to the American flag was fired by Dutch guns. When the ship "Andrea Doria" sailed into the harbor of St. Eustachius in the West Indies with a copy of the Declaration of Independence on board, the governor

of the island, Johannes de Graeff, ordered eleven "honor shots" to be fired.

While, according to the stipulations of the treaty of the Netherlands with England, England and the Netherlands were allies and the latter had furnished soldiers and money in several previous wars, the Dutch refused to allow even the "Scotch Brigade" who were stationed in Holland at that time, to be used against the American Colonies, or to give one man or a single guilder to be used against the new republic, claiming that the war was being waged by George III against his own subjects and had nothing to do with the subject of Protestant succession upon which the treaty was founded.

When the young Republic needed friends whose voices would be powerful in the moulding of a favorable public opinion, it found its first powerful foreign champion of the American cause in a Hollander named Jan Dirk van de Capellen. His affection for the Americans was warm and disinterested, and his translations of pamphlets dealing with the United States kept the Dutch people informed of the progress of the war. The most famous and effective of all the pamphlets published in the Netherlands at this time, espousing the cause of the United States, was from the pen of this friend of the Americans, and its distribution throughout the principal Dutch cities and country districts had the effect of an electric shock. It was called "Aan het volk van Nederland" ("To the People of the Netherlands").

Besides corresponding with Dr. Franklin, Gov. Trumbull, John Adams and other eminent Americans, in company with other Dutch writers, like Dr. Calkoens, van der Capellen soon filled the Netherlands with literature showing the justice of the American cause. He found his audience to be most sympathetic.

In 1908, through the efforts of Mr. John R. van Wormer, President of the Holland Society of New York, the debt of honor owed to this devoted friend of the American Republic was at least partly paid by the placing of a bronze tablet on the walls of his former residence "in grateful recognition of the services rendered by him during the war of the Revolution on behalf of the United Colonies of North America, 1775-1783, which materially contributed toward the establishment of their independence as a nation."

Professor Jean Luzac, another noted Hollander and editor of an influential paper, "The Gazette de Leyde," published in Leyden and circulated throughout Europe, was also exceedingly helpful in arousing sympathy for the Americans. His memory was honored by the Holland Society of Philadelphia in 1909 by a tablet placed in the house he once occupied in Leyden.

When John Paul Jones captured the English "Serapis" he brought his prize to Texel, Holland, and the streets of the Dutch cities resounded with the praise of the valor of the Yankee man-of-war.

Claas Taan with a fleet of Dutch grain ships, broke the British blockade and relieved Baltimore of pressing need. The students of the University of Franeker held a grand festival celebrating the auspicious future of the young republic. These same "free Frisians" led the way in the official recognition of the United States of America. This came about in the following manner:

In the beginning of March of the year 1782 the deputies of Friesland proposed to the States General the admission and recognition of Adams as "Minister of the Congress of North America." "As the Frisians generally carry through anything that they undertake," it was generally thought that Ambassador Adams—and at the same time

the independence of the United States—would soon be recognized. Adams prepared to transfer his residence from Amsterdam to The Hague, the seat of the Dutch Government, and purchased a large and elegant house in a noble situation for 6,000 guilders. This was, according to Frederich Edler in his work "The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution," the first legation the United States ever owned. "L'Hotel des Etats Unis de l'Amerique," as it was officially called, was situated upon the "Fluweelen Burgwal."

In 1913 a memorial tablet was placed in the building which was once the first Legation Building of the United States. It reads:

1609-1913.

GOD ZY MET ONS IN GOD WE TRUST.

IN TOKEN OF MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES OF ENDURING FRIENDSHIP AND OF THE MANIFOLD DEBT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE NETHERLANDS THE ALBANY INSTITUTE AND HISTORICAL AND ART SOCIETY GRATEFULLY REARS THIS MEMORIAL SEPTEMBER 1913.

On April 22nd, 1782, the States-General agreeable to the Frisian proposal resolved upon the admission of John Adams as "Minister of the Congress of North America." Three days later Mr. John Adams, as ambassador from the United States of America to The Hague, had formal audience with the Stadtholder, and soon a treaty between the two republics was completed.

The Frisians, known through the centuries as the most democratic and fearless of the members of the Commonwealth of the Netherlands, had once more vindicated their reputation.

In this remarkably exhaustive treatise on the "Dutch Republic and the American Revolution" Dr. Frederich Edler writes:

> "The conclusion of the treaty with the United Provinces was a signal success for the United States. The Dutch Republic was the first nation, after France, to enter into closer relations with America. There was, however, a vast difference between the two agreements. With France the treaty was, in some degree, an act of charity and had been felt as such by the United States, but with the United Provinces the parties had negotiated as equals. Furthermore, the recognition of American independence by the Dutch and the conclusion of the treaty between the two Republics established the value of the United States in the eyes of the world, thereby making a step forward in the independent national life of the new commonwealth."

By this time the British had already declared war against the Netherlands because of the Dutch intervention in the war with the colonies. Not only had the salute to the American flag been fired, but the American privateers, equipped at the Dutch Port of St. Eustachius, supplied fully one half of the munitions of war to the Continental army. In addition, the papers of van der Capellen, van Berckel, Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut and Erkelens, a Dutchman in Philadelphia, had been found when Henry Laurens, ex-president of the Continental Congress, was captured on the ocean by a British frigate the "Vestal." The States-General refused to punish either de Graeff or van Berckel, and England declared war immediately.

Leaving Cornwallis to take care of himself as best he might in Yorktown, the British Admiral Rodney sailed for St. Eustachius with a great fleet, and captured the port together with fifty

American merchant ships loaded with cotton and tobacco, and two thousand American prisoners. Thus the Republic of the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States both paid dearly for their mutual friendship.

The Dutch bankers at Amsterdam furnished the struggling colonists a much needed loan of fourteen million dollars, and with these sinews of war the Americans were prepared to renew the struggle when Cornwallis surrendered.

During the peace negotiations at Paris the relations of the American minister John Adams with the Dutch diplomats were notably cordial.

In return for the signal benefits the United States had obtained from the freely given friendship of the Hollanders, Adams did his best to convince the English diplomats of the justice of the Dutch demands for the return of captured booty and for free and unrestricted navigation. Writing to a friend in Paris, he said, "Unnecessary however as any exertions of mine have been, I have not omitted any opportunity of throwing in any friendly suggestions in my power where there was a possibility of doing any good to our good friends the Dutch," and details follow of the conversations he had with many of the influential men in the conference.

It is not for the material help that Holland gave her that the United States is most indebted. It was the noble example of the Netherlands in the eighty years' struggle for liberty that gave the colonists heart to continue their seemingly hopeless fight with the powers of oppression. It was in emulation of that immortal Father William, a martyr to the common cause, that George Washington, "Father of his country," led the half-starved continentals on to a glorious victory. The Fathers of this Great Republic were profound students of history and the message that the fam-

View of the Official Reception Hall of the Netherland Pavilion at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915. Decorations and mural painting representing the meeting of Labor of the Old and New World by Herman Rosse.

ishing Burgers in the besieged city of Leyden sent out to the entrenched Spanish army beyond their walls was graven in imperishable letters in their minds and gave courage to the commanders of these suffering continentals.

Reduced to eating rodents, the Burgers of Leyden were offered full pardon if they would but surrender. They answered, "Ye call us rat eaters and dog eaters, and it is true. So long then as ye hear a dog bark or a cat mew within the walls, ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves, be sure that we will devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty, and our religion, against the foreign tyrant. Should God in his wrath doom us to destruction and deny us all relief, even then will we maintain ourselves against your entrance. When the last hour has come, with our own hands we will set fire to the city and perish, men, women and children, together in the flames rather than suffer our homes to be polluted and our liberties to be crushed."

This was the kind of "Dutch courage" that helped make the American Republic possible and gave hope and solace in the darkest hours.

The bell that pealed forth Freedom "throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof" on July 4, 1776, named "Liberty Bell" by the Pennsylvania Dutchmen, had its glorious prototype in the liberty bells which had sounded for hundreds of years from the towers of the Town Halls in the cities of the Netherlands, the bells that rang to call the burgers to festivals and funerals, to Sunday prayers and arms.

After the United States had obtained her national independence, the first need of the country was for a definite, consistent policy of government. What was more natural than that the fathers of the American Republic should turn to

the example of the Netherlands for aid in drafting the necessary instruments?

The history of that free form of government was an inspiring one, and was rooted in the ages.

At the early date of 1477 the death of Charles the Bold resulted in some political turmoil, which led to the summoning of a general assembly or parliament of all the Netherlanders.

The first congress or national legislature of the Low Countries met at Ghent, and provided means to carry on war if necessary, but refused to vote any money until their complaints were heard and justice granted. Thus was laid down the doctrine that centuries later was preached in America against the Stamp Act, no taxation without representation. In answer to these popular demands, "Het groote 'Privilegie,'" one of the many Dutch great charters, was granted, whose provisions were not at all unlike those of the much more modern Constitution of the United States of America.

The great Council, like the Cabinet, and the Supreme Court of Holland were re-established, the Netherlands congress was to levy taxes, coin money, regulate manufacture and commerce, declare war and raise armies and navies. The ancient liberties of the city republics were fully restored. None but natives could hold office, and only the Dutch language was to be used in public documents. The right of trial in one's own township was confirmed, and no command of the overlord was to prevail against the town charters. There was to be no alteration of the coinage without the consent of the states, and no taxation without representation.

More than a century later we arrive at another milestone in the history of Dutch parliamentary liberty.

In 1581, on July 26th, the Dutch States issued their Declaration of Independence, deposing

King Philip of Spain as their monarch, and renouncing his authority on account of his violation of the provisions of this instrument granted a century previous, thus setting the example for the American defiance of July 4, 1776. Up to 1581 the Dutch had waged war against the Spanish forces of Alva in the name of his royal master, and even the charter of the University of Leyden, given to that town as a reward for its heroic defense against the troops of Philip, was solemnly granted in the name of that sinister monarch himself.

Much the same sort of legal joke was perpetrated by the Continentals when they fought at Bunker Hill and Lexington in the name of George III, claiming that the British soldiers were interfering with the free passage of the colonists, his majesty's loyal subjects, on the King's Highway.

Some years before the Dutch Declaration was published, the Union of Utrecht in 1579 had united the seven Dutch northern States of Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland, Overyssel, Gelderland, Friesland and Groningen in a federal republic, with a written constitution under the orange, white and blue flag. This constitution was still in full force and effect at the time of the Declaration of American Independence. But how these Hollanders had fought, suffered and bled to accomplish this end!

Such then was the living example before the eyes of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and the other American patriots, students of Dutch history.

When the rebellious American Colonies framed their first plan of government during the Revolutionary War, they adopted articles of confederation which followed the example of the Netherlands constitution very closely. Under these articles a Congress was established in which

each State, whatever its population and whatever the number of its representatives, from two to seven, had but a single vote. This Congress, like the States-General of the Netherlands, exercised all executive powers. Neither republic had a president or other executive officer at first, for the same reason. In the Netherlands, William I had been accepted by the people as a whole, without vote or other formality, as the virtual head of the army and the government. In the same manner George Washington was understood to be the actual head of the Colonial Federation through his position as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. As in the Netherlands, the legislative body made war and peace, appointed all officers, civil and military, and exercised all functions of government, except those purely judicial.

Both the Union of Utrecht and the first confederation of the American colonies had been formed for the conduct of a government of diverse states during the time of war, under the guardianship of a powerful and justly popular leader.

Very naturally some of the features of such a system, however successful in time of war, were not adopted to the permanent government of a country at peace.

So nearly akin, however, were the integral parts of the two republics, that the solutions of the problem of the Netherlands confederation were well adapted to the same situations in the United States.

The plan of the United States Senate was borrowed almost bodily from the Dutch States-General, when the Constitution took its permanent form. Each State, however large or small, is given equal representation in this body. Only one third of its members go out of office at a time, following the lead of the Dutch, who had learned at an early date the advantages of new blood com-

View of the Division of the Dutch East Indies in the Official Pavilion of the Netherlands and Colonies at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915.

bined with experience, many of their important bodies changing but a fraction at a time. An age test, unknown in England but entirely familiar in the Netherlands as a Roman precedent, completes the likeness of the United States Senate to the similar bodies in the Dutch Federation and distinguishes it from the House of Lords of England.

The appointment by the President, with the confirmation of the Senate, of the Judges and all the subordinate officers of the State, is the evolution of the old Dutch plan of the submission of a triple number of candidates to the Stadtholder by the Estates, and is very dissimilar to the English system, wherein the executive authority, formerly the monarch, but now the Cabinet, makes the appointments without the confirmation or control of any other body.

The restriction of the power of the executive in regard to the making of war or peace, by the legislative body, is of Netherland origin.

The Supreme Court of the United States, the admiration of all thoughtful English statesmen, was directly copied from the Dutch precedent, established in 1477, by "het groote Privilegie." But even more important than any consciously adopted forms of legal or political structure, are the principles which give birth to them.

Professor Thorold Rogers, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, and of Economic Science and Statistics, King's College, London, in his "Story of Holland," says:

> "I hold that the revolt of the Netherlands and the success of Holland is the beginning of modern science and of modern civilization. It utterly repudiated the divine right of kings, and the divine authority of the church, the two most inveterate enemies which human progress has had to do battle with. At present the king in civilized communities is the serv-

ant of the state, whose presence and influence is believed to be useful.

"The priest can only enjoy an authority which is voluntarily conceded to him, but has no authority over those who decline to recognize him. These two principles of civil government the Dutch were the first to affirm. . . . Holland was the solitary European state for a long time, in which a man's religious opinions were no bar to his exercise of all civil rights. . . . To the true lover of liberty, Holland is the Holy Land of modern Europe and should be held sacred."

Said James Madison, writing in 1822:

"The example of Holland proved that a toleration of sects dissenting from the established sect was safe and even useful . . . that religion flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government."

At the time of the rise of the great American Republic the system of government in the Netherlands had shown many serious defects. No system devised by men can stand the test of more than two centuries without showing its weaknesses and blemishes.

The fathers of the American Constitution, deep students of history and government, were able to eliminate the flaws and mistakes and adopt the system they admired free from its less desirable elements. The wisdom of two centuries made improvements easy.

APPENDIX

HOLLAND'S HOSPITALITY

(From *The Literary Digest*, December 12, 1914.)

Nine newly born babes snatched from a burning hospital in Antwerp formed, says the Amsterdam *Handelsblad,* a group before which strong men were moved to tears on the arrival at the Amsterdam Stock Exchange of the little party in the arms of the Red Cross nurses that had rescued them. In describing the flight of the Belgian poor toward food and safety in the Netherlands, the correspondent of the *Handelsblad* goes on to say:

> "Afterwards as I tramped for hours among them, one thing imprest itself strongly upon my memory: the noise of so many little wooden shoes—children's shoes—that click-clacked on the cobblestones in the characteristic short run of frightened people. My memory holds a whole collection of noises, but none quite as pathetic as the quick 'tok-tok-tok' of these hordes of children trying desperately with their tired little legs to keep up with father and mother."

In speaking of the reception these refugees met at the hands of their hospitable neighbors, the London *Times* remarks that the Dutch

> "have risen with a noble charity to the demands made upon them, and the charity of the poor has been as wide and active as the charity of the rich. Touching stories have reached us of the warmth with which the homeless wanderers have been welcomed in the frontier villages and towns. We hear of families taking in as many as thirty refugees in their houses, and going forth themselves to sleep in the streets. Food and clothing have been freely given by all classes according to their abilities, and the sufferers have been consoled by the kindliness and the sympathy of their tender-hearted Dutch hosts. Do most of us realize how immense this charity has been, and how

heavy is the glorious burden which it is casting upon the Dutch people? It is credibly affirmed that not less than 700,000 Belgian fugitives have sought and found an asylum in the Netherlands. The entire population of that Kingdom is but 6,000,000 souls. The Dutch are therefore housing and feeding considerably more than one-tenth of their own numbers in fugitives alone."

In the opinion of *The Times,* this burden ought to fall, at least in part, upon Great Britain and those other countries that have benefited by "the heroic stand of the Belgian nation," and such also is the view of the London *Daily Mail,* which thinks:

"But the burden that is thereby thrown upon the people of Holland is one that with the utmost good-will in the world they can not sustain unaided. At a time of intense national anxiety and acute commercial depression the influx of nearly three-quarters of a million homeless and destitute refugees places upon them responsibilities that even their noble spirit of charity and pity can not adequately discharge. Nothing can exceed the generous solicitude with which they have received and cared for their hapless guests. But the task is one that is really beyond their resources, and beyond the resources, too, of any combination of charitable agencies.

"We in this country owe to Belgium a debt we must forever despair of repaying. But we can at least show some sense of its immensity by claiming a right to house and feed and find employment for those of her people whom the initial fortunes of the war have driven into a temporary exile."

It is noteworthy, however, that, according to the London *Times* and the American press, the Dutch Government has declined to shift this bur-

den of hospitality and has refused offers of financial assistance, both from America and Great Britain, as incompatible with the country's honor.

Tho the Dutch press is not blind to the drain upon the resources of the Netherlands that this charity entails, yet the Amsterdam *Nieuws van den Dag* insists that greater military preparations are necessary for the adequate defense of the Dutch people and their guests.

HERE ENDS "HOLLAND, AN HISTORICAL ESSAY," AS WRITTEN BY H. A. VAN COENEN TORCHIANA. PUBLISHED IN BOOK FORM BY PAUL ELDER & COMPANY, AND SEEN THROUGH THEIR TOMOYE PRESS BY JOHN SWART, IN THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, DURING THE MONTH OF MAY, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN.

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